

CULTURAL ECOSYSTEM SERVICES AND WELLBEING POLICIES FOR TOURISM – TRANSNATIONAL AND NATIONAL CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

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Abstract:

The aim of the paper is to present the results of a comparative study about cultural ecosystem services (CES), wellbeing and tourism policies in UK, Finland and Poland in the years 2012–2018. We start with a review of the theoretical background and academic conceptualizations of CES and wellbeing tourism, and go on to review indicative policies at transnational and national levels in selected case countries. We compare the countries' policies related to tourism, wellbeing and CES, and we discuss conceptual linkages between them. The results indicate substantial differences at European level, starting from Finland and UK, where the policies analysed show important linkages between the three study areas, to Poland where tourism, wellbeing and CES are treated separately and with only moderate or weak linkages. We conclude with a discussion of the challenges in transferring CES and wellbeing concepts to different cultural-linguistic and political-administrative national and transnational contexts, but highlight also potential opportunities for transfer of learning and experiences between the countries studied.

Keywords: cultural ecosystem services, wellbeing, tourism, national policies

Introduction

The role of public policy on tourism development has long been of interest to researchers [Richter, 1983, Hall, Zapata Campos 2014]. Tourism can affect, amongst others, local cultures, environment and people's wellbeing. Therefore, tourism is important and impactful enough that it should be taken into account in other national policies and regulations, outside of those strictly related to the sector [Hall 2009]. Already in 1999, Keller (then President of the International Association of Scientific Experts) pointed out that “tourism has acquired such great social and economic

significance that there are few areas of life in which its effects are not felt. It would be difficult therefore for the state to avoid becoming involved with tourism, whether directly or indirectly, as regulator and at times as a promoter" [Keller 1999, p. 2]. This paper starts from this premise, by recognizing that tourism policy-making by states can affect other areas of life and policy-making – and vice-versa.

Since the beginning UNWTO has continued to advocate for tourism as a fundamental component of policies and priorities for sustainable development *sensu largo*. As a result of such measures, in December 2015, the United Nations General Assembly declared 2017 as the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development.

The UNWTO documentation concerning sustainable tourism often mention well-being. It indicates a clear influence of the guidelines of the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA) (2003, 2005), in which wellbeing is correlated with sustainable development and with ecosystem services, both seen as inextricable elements of one global process, necessary to lead properly "*our common future*". However, as Bohlin, Brandt & Elbe [2014] argue, public policy perspectives are not usually taken seriously enough in tourism development. Nonetheless, it can be argued that given its wide reach in terms of economic and social activities and impacts, tourism can be one of the instruments available to national governments for the development of public policies in areas that might overlap with such activities and/or impacts. This paper discusses an example of it, by focusing on the concepts of cultural ecosystem services (CES), wellbeing promotion and tourism, and the degree to which synergies or overlaps among those concepts are approached (or not) at policy level on different European countries.

In this paper we understand 'policies' as the long-term strategies and principles that are independent of short term political changes, and that guide subsequent decisions at national and regional level. We are aware that different political, cultural and administrative systems and traditions can influence or frame policy orientations at national level [Loughlin, Peters 1997], so our choice of case countries (UK, Finland and Poland) was intended to cover a diversity of such systems at European level, as well as a contrast between 'older' EU states versus new member states.

Cultural ecosystem services

The concept of ecosystem services (ES) was created in 70s by ecologists and economists trying to bridge the gaps between environmental and economic interests of contemporary world [Ehrlich et al. 1977]. The ES concept translated to "economic language" explained to policy makers what is the economic cost of what appears to be for free (clean water, fresh air, etc.) and how much societies would have to

pay if those services were not being heavily 'subsidized' by functioning ecosystems [Daily, 1997].

ES as a concept gained momentum after the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA) [2003]. Since then, the number of research publications in the subject increased rapidly [e.g. Fisher et al. 2009, De Groot et al. 2010]. An ES rationale soon became a basis for many planning and managing policies at national and regional levels. For instance, much work has been done to value the costs and benefits of particular ES delivery [van Berkel Verburg 2014] and on ES mapping [Willemen et al. 2008] to inform policy-making.

ES are commonly defined and related to both material and non-material values. Material values include provisioning, regulating and supporting services, while the non-material have been associated to so called cultural ecosystem services (CES). The range of issues covered under CES is wide (beliefs, historical values, social relation and many others) thus in the literature they were often named and seen from different perspectives [e.g. Dłużewska 2016, de Groot et al. 2010, Wallace 2007].

The most comprehensive categorisation of CES was provided by the MEA. Within CES the MEA [2005] distinguishes: *Cultural diversity*, *Spiritual services*, *Knowledge systems*, *Educational values*, *Inspiration*, *Aesthetic values*, *Social relations*, *Sense of place and identity*, *Cultural heritage values*, and finally – *Recreation and ecotourism* (recognising that people often choose their leisure destination based on landscape characteristics). Since the publication of the MEA the concept of ES (and CES by extension) had a strong emphasis on its linkages to human wellbeing [MEA 2005, De Groot et al. 2010], but discussions on such links have rarely been made from a tourism angle.

Yet, the definition of cultural ecosystem services, done by *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment* has been criticized [Boyd and Banzhaf 2007, Wallace 2007, Chan et al. 2012] because it does not clearly separate the welfare of human beneficiaries, between the above notions of services, benefits, and values [Dłużewska 2016, Milcu et al. 2013].

We should also note that the value assigned to CES is always subjective, therefore it depends on personal assessments of their contribution to someone's wellbeing [Charles and Dukes 2007, Eicken et al. 2009, Scullion et al. 2011].

It should also be emphasized that the CES concept in many aspects refers to functionalism, previously widely used in the field of geographical sciences [see e.g. Mandal 2013, Suliborski 2010, 2016, Wójcik 2013 a,b]. On the basis of administrative policies, references to geographic sciences are, however, negligible, or at least too small to draw from the vast achievements of geography. This is undoubtedly a huge loss for research in the field of ES and CES, still much more for the implementation activities in this field.

Wellbeing in tourism context

Wellbeing appears in academic papers related to environment, economy, psychology, medical sciences and many others disciplines [Brown, Kasser 2005, Hall, et al. 2013, Tuula, Tuuli 2015]. It is also frequently used in relation to tourism [Dłużewska 2017, 2018], stating by assumption that tourism adds to wellbeing [McCabe, Diekmann 2015, Smith, Diekmann 2017]. The concept of wellbeing in development policy originated in early 1930s within the area of economic studies. It was connected with Gross National Product (GNP), which soon evolved into Gross Domestic Product (GDP) referring to the value of all goods and services produced in a specific country. Soon, also in the field of economic sciences, it was perceived that wellbeing was affected by cultural, political, social and many other factors. In a straight line it led to the identification of the so-called Social Indicators (SI) [Cummins et al. 2003].

Guidelines for wellbeing policies of states and many national and supranational organizations such as for example the United Nations World Tourism Organization or the United Nations General Assembly were established in the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA) documents from 2003 and 2005. As defined in MEA, wellbeing is a combination of five elements:

- 1) *basic material for a good life,*
- 2) *health,*
- 3) *good social relations,*
- 4) *security,*
- 5) *freedom of choice and action.*

Wellbeing is also given some coverage in environmental sciences [Prescot 2001, Tuula, Tuuli 2015]. From their perspective, human wellbeing is closely linked to the good condition of natural environment – water, air etc. The mechanism is simple – the better the quality of natural environment, the higher the human wellbeing [Hall et al. 2013].

More specifically in the field of tourism, health and wellbeing are concepts that in recent years have attracted the interest of tourism scholars and the hospitality industry [e.g. Bushell, Sheldon 2009, Smith, Puczkó 2009, 2014, Tuohino et al. 2014]. This growing interest is not only an opportunity for a wide range of nongovernmental institutions and private sector, but is also considered a well-justified concern for governmental bodies at local, national and supranational levels [Tuohino et al. 2014].

The first books about health and wellness tourism were published at the end of the 2000s [e.g. Bushell, Sheldon 2009, Smith, Puczkó 2009]. Smith and Puczkó [2009] were among the first to try to bridge the concepts of health and wellness tourism, and discussed diverse aspects related to wellness, e.g. quality of life, wellbeing, health, happiness, and spirituality. The academic world has defined such concepts in different

ways and different languages have their own words for them. In many cases the concepts of health and wellbeing have been used inter-changeably [Smith, Puczkó 2009, 2014]. This has led to confusion and sometimes misuse of the concepts. A common approach is to define health tourism as including curative and medical aspects, while wellbeing is more holistic and preventive in ethos [Smith Puczkó 2014]. It is good to keep in mind that wellbeing is in the eye of the beholder or in the minds of the observer and perceiver. Where the traveler seeks a sense of good feelings, the local resident may experience the same situation differently [e.g. Andereck et al. 2005, Andriotis 2005, Ap 1992]. For tourist, the wellbeing experience could be either the one-time joy or a part of a continuous learning process of life mastering [Smith, Puczkó 2009], while for the locals effects can be twofold. Positive impacts include among others monetary improvements in local economic conditions, improvements in infrastructure, lifestyle changes or overall increasing economic, social, cultural and environmental sustainability and wellbeing of the society. Negative impacts raise e.g. from traffic problems, congestion, pollution or an overuse of nature [see e.g. Archer et al. 2005].

The links between landscape, health and wellbeing are also increasingly recognized both in research and policy levels [Velarde et al. 2007]. There is evidence that a link to the natural environment can promote good health [Völker, Kistemann 2011, Pretty et al. 2007]. Links between human health, wellbeing and landscapes have been studied by examining their relationship with green spaces [e.g. Maas et al. 2006, Pretty et al. 2007] and blue spaces [e.g. Völker, Kistemann 2011]. However, most of this research has been focused on residents' living environments and recreation activities, while health effects among tourists have been less studied.

In recent years, Northern European countries in particular have been more proactive in developing wellness and wellbeing tourism based on landscape and lifestyle factors, and examples include the Nordic wellbeing [Hjalager et al. 2011] and rural wellbeing concepts [Hjalager et al. 2015]. By contrast, in Central and Eastern Europe wellness tourism has been traditionally mostly related with spa services, and not with wellbeing in a wider natural context [Dłużewska 2016, Georgiev, Vasileva 2010].

Fig. 1 illustrates and summarizes the interlinkages of the concepts discussed above. We recognize that there are also other linkages that could be highlighted in fig. 1 (for instance, tourism also impacts on ES/CES and such impacts can be either positive or negatives). However, the Figure intends to provide a framework that narrows the focus on the main concepts and ideas of relevance for the purposes of this paper. Our premise is that the concept of CES (and ES more generally) can provide a new narrative that highlights the dependence of tourism on such services and can inform policy-making both at ES and tourism levels. Likewise, the emergence of wellbeing tourism (particularly nature-based wellbeing-focused forms of tourism and

recreation) can be enriched by the recognition of the benefits that human health and wellbeing derive from ES/CES, and that also this ‘reframing’ of such linkages can equally inform policy-making. Ultimately, there is potential for the emerging discussions around CES, wellbeing and tourism to inform policies that can (more directly or indirectly) pursue interlinkages between the three areas, either fully or partially. The next sections will then present the results of our searches for evidence of such interlinkages being pursued (or not) in the case countries, starting from a description of the methodology employed.

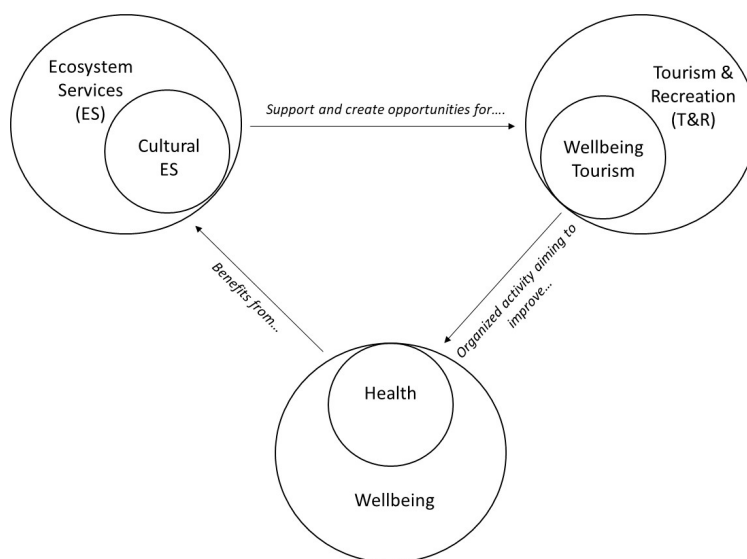


Fig. 1. Interlinkages between CES, wellbeing tourism, and health & wellbeing
Ryc. 1. Powiązania między kulturowymi świadczeniami ekosystemów, turystyką prozdrowotną, zdrowiem i dobrostanem

Methodology

This article is based on a comparative study about CES and wellbeing policies in the context of tourism in three European countries: Finland, UK and Poland. The data collection was done in February – March 2017, by using available strategies, policy papers and laws. For the further analysis only actual policies, valid at national level were included. Initially, an extensive review of indicative papers and policies was done in order to understand how the key concepts of ES, wellbeing and tourism are presented and linked with each other in policy documentation. Reviews were mainly based on national language documents. Strategies and legal regulations were analysed

first on the basis of the key words “cultural ecosystem services”, “wellbeing” and “tourism”, and then by looking at content that would reflect similar meanings to those keywords, even if they were not used directly. In the first stage, the analysis included more than 100 documents for each country, that theoretically could concern tourism – ecosystem services – wellbeing. On a subsequent content interpretation phase, we looked for thematic linkages between policies when the study concepts were used. The data used in the comparative second stage deep analysis of policies in the three case study countries is listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Comparative analysis of policies in the three case study countries

Tab. 1. Analiza porównawcza polityki w trzech krajach objętych studium przypadku

Country	Actor	Title/Focus of policy	Policy documents linking:		
			Tourism and Wellbeing	Tourism and CES	Wellbeing and CES
Finland	Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland	Roadmap for growth and renewal in Finnish tourism for 2015–2025	Y	Y	
		Finland's Tourism Strategy to 2020: four good reasons to promote tourist industry development	Y	Y	
		Government resolution on Finnish tourism policy	Y	Y	
		Tourism 4.0 National action programme	Y	Y	
	VisitFinland	Development strategy for Finnish wellbeing tourism in international markets 2014–2018	Y		
		Development strategy for Finnish cultural tourism in international markets		Y	
	Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry	Finland's rural Development Strategy for the period 2014–2020	Y		
UK	VisitBritain	Government resolution on the strategy for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity “Saving Nature for People – National action plan for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity in Finland 2013–2020”.	Y	Y	
		Tourism Strategy 2020: «Delivering a Golden Legacy: a growth strategy for inbound tourism 2012–2020» (2012)			
		Environment White Paper “The Natural Choice: Securing the Value of Nature” (2011)		Y	Y
	Scottish Government	Good Places, Better Health: A New approach to the Environment and Health in Scotland (2008)			Y

UK	Department of Health and Social Care	Public Health White Paper “Healthy Lives, Healthy People: our strategy for public health in England” (2010)			Y
	Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs and ‘Natural England’	National Parks: 8-point plan for England (2016–2020)	Y	Y	Y
Poland	Ministry of Regional Development	Poland spatial management strategy (2012–2020)	Y	Y	
		Poland development strategy (2010–2020)	Y		
	Council of Ministries	Rural development strategy (2007–2013)	Y	Y	
		Poland environmental policies strategy (2003–2010)	Y	Y	
	Polish Tourism Organization	Marketing strategy of Poland in the sector of tourism for the years 2012–2020			
	Ministry of Agriculture	Spatial management of country side (2012–2020)	Y		
	Ministry of Labor and Social Policies	Project of strategy for human capital development (2013)	Y		
	Ministry of Environment	Poland energetic system strategy (2012–2020)		Y	
	Ministry of Sport and Tourism	National strategy for tourism development (2015–2020)	Y	Y	

National policies’ status and developments

Finland

Finland has been at the forefront of work with the ES concept, with these perceived as an integral part of growing green economy sectors such as life and health style business e.g. by exploring the links between biodiversity and human health and wellbeing. Finland participated in the Mapping and Assessment of Ecosystems and their Services (MAES) process to initiate the work on mapping of ES. In addition, the Economics of Ecosystems & Biodiversity (TEEB) Nordic project assessed the socio-economic importance of ecosystem services in the Nordic countries [Kettunen et al. 2012] and played a key role in setting the scene for TEEB Finland [Jäppinen, Heliölä 2015].

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment (MEAE) is responsible for the strategic development of tourism by setting the priorities of the Finnish tourism policy. In January 2015, a new tourism strategy Roadmap for Growth and Renewal in Finnish Tourism for 2015–2025 was published. One of its six strategic projects is wellbeing tourism, and “Finrelax – Turning Finland into a top country of wellbeing tourism Growth Programme” was funded for the years 2015–2018. Addition to wellbeing, health services are listed as a part of the tourism cluster service production. In September 2017, The Finnish Government recognized tourism as one of

the spearheads of the Government's mid-term policy review session and launched the new Travel 4.0 policy package to ensure the growth of tourism. In the Travel 4.0, the links with health and wellbeing tourism are strong via Finrelax programme and via health tourism. Although ES or CES are not mentioned as such in the roadmap or in the Travel 4.0, ES and its linkages with tourism are well represented in other Finnish strategic papers and in implementation policies. In the national Tourism Strategy to 2020, ES do appear explicitly and are defined as follows: "*Ecosystem services refer to the various benefits humankind gains from natural systems, including nutrition (food and water), regulation (control of floods, draught and erosion) and culture (recreational, spiritual and other intangible benefits)*" [TEM 2010, p. 20].

Finnish wellbeing tourism strongly relies on nature and utilises natural resources as a source of wellbeing. Theme has already been since 2002 one of the focus areas of tourism development in the country [Konu et al. 2014]. Wellbeing and healthcare tourism in turn are acknowledged as sub-concepts of health tourism. Visit Finland (previous Finnish Tourist Board MEK) follows the definition of Kuha [2004] in its wellbeing strategies by defining wellbeing tourism as follows: "*Wellbeing tourism makes the visitor feel good even after returning home. It does not cure illnesses or improve the physical condition; it looks after and enhances one's state of health. Well-being tourism gives the person individual and comprehensive good feelings, which can improve both physical energy and mental alertness.*" [MEK 2005, VisitFinland 2014]. Further, Finnish health sector is being boosted with the national growth strategy for research and innovation announced in spring 2014 with its implementation jointly steered by three ministries (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health) and the providers of funding (Academy of Finland and Business Finland).

In addition to wellbeing tourism, cultural tourism have been identified as key areas of Finnish tourism strategies, and both themes have their own development strategies for international markets [VisitFinland 2014] without reference to ES or CES. Further, other Ministries like the Ministry of Environment and Ministry of Agriculture have policies linked with tourism, wellbeing and ES. Among these e.g. the Government Resolution on the Strategy or the Conservation and Sustainable Use of Biodiversity in Finland for the years 2012–2020, 'Saving Nature for People'. Tourism, wellbeing, health and ES are all clearly included in strategies. Likewise, Finland's rural Development Strategy for the period 2014–2020 includes tourism and wellbeing aspects.

United Kingdom

The UK was one of the first European countries to embrace the ES concept at national policy level. From 2007 Defra (Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs) championed the uptake of ES in policy formulation [Edward 2009], and in 2011 it commissioned a nation-wide National Ecosystem Assessment [UK NEA

2016]. This was the “first analysis of the UK’s natural environment in terms of the benefits it provides to society and continuing economic prosperity”. Later in the same year, the government published a Natural Environment White Paper [HM Government 2011] heavily informed by the results of the UK-NEA. The document was called “The natural choice: securing the value of nature” and, as the title implied, it set a range of policy directives aimed at a broader extraction of value from the natural environment, from the generation of health benefits to the creation of a ‘green economy’. However, its only direct policy reference to tourism was an emphasis on the strain that tourism can cause on the natural environment and an invitation for the development of payback schemes (a form of Payment for Ecosystem Services – PES) for the protection of natural destinations. But the paper also announced the creation of a business-led Ecosystem Markets Task Force “*to review the opportunities for UK business from expanding green goods, services, products, investment vehicles and markets which value and protect nature’s services*” (p. 40). In the final report of the said Task Force [Ecosystem Markets Task Force 2013], tourism commonly appears as one of such opportunities. Nonetheless, such debates and considerations are virtually absent from country’s formal strategy [VisitBritain 2012], that contains no particular guidelines for the setting of tourism products, typologies or priorities focused on wellbeing or CES/environment/nature/countryside (apart from a general intention to promote visitation to the countryside to specific markets).

In contrast, and as it can be seen by Table 1, the country has been fairly pro-active in building more explicit policy links between CES and wellbeing promotion. In the UK policy context wellbeing tends to be closely associated with ‘health’, but can also expand beyond it to more holistic interpretations. The 2010 Health White Paper commonly uses both terms simultaneously in a complementary way, with wellbeing defined as “a positive physical, social and mental state – is an important part of our health” [HM Government 2010, p.14]. The Health and Social Care Act 2012 formalized the establishment of ‘Health and Wellbeing Boards’, local fora where representatives of health and care services work together to improve the health and wellbeing of local populations. These bodies had also been highlighted in the Environment White Paper, which called on them to work together with Local Nature Partnerships (other separate fora first established by that paper) on the development of joint nature-based health and wellbeing strategies. Over time, this has led to emergence of a range of ‘bottom-up’ local pilot initiatives around the theme of “Natural Health Service” exploring ways to implement the paper’s vision at local level¹.

¹ Some examples include: <https://naturalhealthservice.org.uk/>; <https://www.nature4health.org.uk/>; <http://naturalhealthservice.london/>; <https://www.nature.scot/professional-advice/contributing-healthier-scotland/our-natural-health-service>; <http://nhsforest.org/>

In typical Anglo-Saxon political tradition, very little of the policies describe above are enforced or implemented in a top-down centralized way by government. Instead, they normally act as general policy directions to be taken up by stakeholders and civic society on a voluntary basis through incentivization mechanisms (usually grants and demonstration projects). In other words, despite the higher level policy narrative around these concepts, it would be erroneous to consider that anything like a formal wellbeing or ES-based national tourism strategy exists, as it does in Finland.

Poland

The policy-legal system in Poland for all sectors is fully centralized. Each region has to follow general policies and regulations coming from the Parliament and given Ministries [Goetz, Zubek 2007]. Policies about ES are abundant, but very rarely use the term ecosystem services. The situation is changing progressively (due to alignment with EU policy obligations) but still, most policies talk about “environmental protection, water, biosphere, forests” and not about ES related to environment, water etc. No policy uses the term CES although many of them include content related to the usual definitions of CES. They mostly concern aspects of tourism and recreation in protected areas, forests and water districts. The key actor responsible for CES is the Ministry of Environment. Regarding the application side, the Ministry normally passes responsibilities to particular National Parks which are in a position to adjust the general regulations to local exigencies. Other actors involved in CES are the Ministry of Regional Development, Ministry of Forest and Agriculture and Polish Tourism Organization (when talking about tourism development strategies in protected areas).

Wellbeing in Poland is basically defined in terms of physical health, in a very narrow interpretation in which being well is understood as not being ill. The main stakeholder responsible for wellbeing policies is the Ministry of Health, but the focus of its policies is mainly treatment or prevention of given illnesses. Legal acts concerning wellbeing done by other ministries are few and far apart. From hundreds of regulations only 5 refer to wellbeing in a holistic content. Those are done by other actors, such as the Ministry of Administration, Ministry of Regional Development, Ministry of Labor and Social Policies and Ministry of Agriculture. We should however underline that all of them are high level development programs and strategies and have no mandatory or enforcement status for implementation.

Linkages between tourism, wellbeing and CES appear only in different kinds of development strategies but almost never in implementation-focused policies. Exceptions to this are National Parks practical regulations for tourism.

Discussion: transnational comparisons

The previous sections exposed a diversity of interpretations of the concepts of CES and wellbeing on the case countries selected, as well as wide diversity of implementation approaches and levels of embeddedness of such concepts into national tourism policies. These observations highlight the first challenge that policy-making at European level faces when these topics are concerned, i.e. the fact that understanding of such key terms and concepts varies a lot by from country to country. This generates important questions on whether the concepts under study here ‘travel well’ across different cultures and languages, but also across different national political traditions and structures.

When focusing on the CES’ concept alone, our initial literature review highlighted the diversity of existing interpretations and ideas it encompasses, beyond the more commonly used MEA definition. A meta-analysis done by Schaich, Bieling, & Plie-ninger [2010] about geographical sources and location of CES research, showed that 99 % of papers published until then were in English, and 69% of them were done by American, British, Australian or New Zealand authors. Scandinavian and Spanish published the rest with absence of the rest of world. Even acknowledging that most scientific literature is written in English, such relative proportions can be potential indicators of the relative level of discussion on CES in different countries. One can assume that low levels of CES-related scientific publications would indicate equally low levels of CES-centered debates in such countries.

An even more complex picture appears regarding different interpretations and applications of the concept of ‘wellbeing’. There are clearly different historic, cultural and linguistic understandings of wellbeing, health and wellness in the countries analyzed. For instance, although in the UK policy context the concept of wellbeing is closely linked to ‘health’, it also takes a more holistic interpretation that goes beyond the individual’s physical and mental state to include often a consideration of the social dimension. In Finland, understanding of wellbeing also takes a wider holistic interpretation related to balance of body, soul and mind. However, in the Finnish language the word *hyvinvointi* is the same translational equivalent to the English ‘wellness’, ‘wellbeing’ and ‘welfare’ terms or concepts. This often causes confusion and misuse of the words, but also illustrates how it can be more difficult in the Finnish language and culture to separate conceptually individual from social wellbeing.

On the other hand, in Poland the meaning of wellbeing is usually strictly associated with aspects of physical health, with the term’s wider connotations somewhat “lost in translation” in national policies, which then tend to focus on narrower health-related issues. For instance, with wellbeing being understood as simply a lack of illness, the only linkages with tourism in the Polish context normally appear for health tourism (e.g. sanatoriums) but there are no policies aiming to improve the wellbeing (as in

being well in a holistic sense) of given social groups (e.g. elderly, family with children etc.) through tourism. This is even less so if one looks for any policies promoting wellbeing through a CES-centered approach in the Polish context.

The points above bring us to a wider discussion of whether and how such concepts are brought together (or not) across their different policy arenas in the case countries analyzed (table 2). Our analysis revealed that very different routes were taken in this regard, but they also highlight gaps and learning opportunities that could be explored by the countries concerned (and others) through processes of transnational policy learning and transfer [Dolowitz, Marsh 2000, Evans, Davies 1999].

Arguably, from the countries analyzed, Finland is the one with a more advanced stage of development in embedding CES and wellbeing into its tourism strategies. The country's national tourism agency adopted a formal definition of 'wellbeing tourism' as early as 2005, and the concept is currently one of the key strategic focus areas for Finnish tourism and promotion abroad [VisitFinland 2014]. Moreover, its national Tourism Strategy to 2020 includes an explicit reference to ES, and the overall strategy relies strongly on an explicit use of nature and natural resources to support the country's distinctiveness, competitiveness and future tourism development.

The Finnish interpretation of 'wellbeing' is fairly holistic, and so it makes sense that the country's take on 'wellbeing tourism' also reflects the strong role of nature in national psyche, culture and identity. Unlike the term 'wellness tourism', commonly associated in some markets (e.g. Germany) as mainly passive pampering and four- and five-star hotels, the Finnish idea of 'wellbeing tourism' can include the pampering aspect but goes beyond it, with proactive nature-based activities having a big role. It has no explicit focus on luxury products or high-end accommodation, which is again more in line with the Finnish understanding of *hyvinvointi* [Kangas, Tuohino 2008].

The UK approach, in turn, stands in many ways in contrast to the Finnish top-down strategy definition and policy-making, though it also shares some commonalities on its reliance on collaborative processes for implementation. Unlike Finland, where policy agenda-setting started from a tourism development rationale and then integrated CES and wellbeing as natural dimensions of a Finnish tourism experience, the UK process started from a national discussion on ES and subsequently arrived at tourism as one of the mechanisms to explore the concept's operationalization. Its Natural Environment White Paper set a policy agenda explicitly focused on extracting multiple societal benefits from nature. In other words, it provided an agenda to operationalize CEP, which also included a focus on health and wellbeing, and later led to recommendations of using tourism and recreation for such aims. However, although a policy direction was set, no framework was defined for its implementation, apart from an expectation that multi-stakeholder groups at local level would self-organize to develop initiatives around it. Although this approach is a significant

contrast with the systematic ‘national strategy’ –driven approach from Finland, it ends up equally relying on voluntary adoption of its ideas at local/regional level by relevant stakeholders. Another distinction is that it has no state-sponsored funding programme to support it, which has resulted in low levels of uptake and a piece meal approach to implementation. This difference clearly is a reflection of the different types of stakeholders involved in both types of approaches (i.e. national agencies and tourism business in Finland vs local/regional non-profit organizations in the UK). More recently though, the government announced a new plan for the National Parks in England, where the mutual pursuit of both nature-based tourism and wellbeing policy agendas is much more explicit [DEFRA 2016].

Table 2. Linkages between CES, wellbeing and tourism in case countries’ policies

Tab. 2. Związki między kulturowymi świadczeniami ekosystemów, dobrostanem i turystyką w aktach legislacyjnych badanych krajów

Country	CES and tourism	CES and wellbeing	Wellbeing and tourism	CES, wellbeing and tourism
<i>Finland</i>	Strong link: The national Tourism Strategy 2020 explicitly acknowledges the concept of CES, sets nature as one of the most importing factors for tourism, and prioritizes ‘productization’ of nature into attractive packages or day trips.	Strong link: The country has explicit ‘health and wellbeing’ goals in the management policies of its national parks and forests, promoted by the ministries and implemented e.g. by VisitFinland and Met-sähallitus.	Strong link: The FinRelax growth programme, promoted by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment has the explicit aims of making Finland the leading wellbeing tourism destination.	Strong link: The FinRelax programme has the explicit aim to promote nature-inspired (and nature-based lifestyle) tourism products and services, based on the country’s natural resources and traditions, and consisting on outdoor-based health fitness activities and wellbeing spas.
<i>UK</i>	Moderate to strong: Environment White Paper was developed around the concept of ES, and resulted in an acknowledgement of the role of tourism as an opportunity to generate value from CES. A subsequent National Parks’ plan provides direct policy direction to drive international tourism growth from nature.	Moderate to strong: Environment White Paper directly calls for collaboration between local/regional ‘Health and Wellbeing Boards’ and Local Nature Partnerships to develop joint nature-based health and wellbeing strategies. Several new initiatives across the country piloting concept of ‘natural health service’, with support from public health organizations.	Weak to Moderate: No explicit policies promoting a wellbeing tourism approach. ‘Natural health service’ initiatives rely strongly on outdoor recreational activities, but these are not framed as economic tourism activity or aims. Some initiatives on nature-based health and wellbeing recreation from national agencies and third-sector but in bottom-up way and not as national policies.	Moderate: Environment White Paper led to calls for development of cross-policy approaches, but new National Parks plan is only example so far of explicit mutual aims of promoting both tourism growth and national health through nature-based recreation activities.

<i>Poland</i>	Moderate: Conceptual linkages appear in selected strategies (by Ministry of Regional Development, Council of Ministries, Ministry of Environment, and Ministry of Sport and Tourism) but not in the implementation. The exception is done in National Parks (under Ministry of Environment) practical regulations for tourism access.	No linkages: Only ES (local climate, waters) are linked with wellbeing policies (understood as health), when talking about sanatoriums location and status.	Moderate: In wellbeing's holistic understanding, linkages are moderate. They appear in selected strategies (by Ministry of Regional Development, Council of Ministries, Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Labor and Social Policies). In the narrower sense of Polish translation (wellbeing = health), policies are abundant.	Weak: Visible in Council of Ministries and Ministry of Regional development strategies only.
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The situation changes significantly in Poland, where there are currently no formal attempts to integrate CES, wellbeing and tourism policies nor, as seen, were the ES/CES concepts readily adopted in national strategies or policies, like in the two earlier examples. There also doesn't seem to be any current agenda-setting attempts to establish explicit links between those areas, in the way that the UK Environment White Paper has done. However, this is not to say that opportunities for such don't exist, nor that there isn't potential for it. Our analysis shows that a significant challenge in this area is the attempt to import to national policy-making and culture concepts, terms and ideas developed in different settings and linguistic-cultural contexts. However, this does not mean that similar values do not exist, but they might be expressed differently or need adapting to the countries' specific historical and cultural contexts. For instance, although CES terminology is somewhat alien or artificial to Polish language, there is a range of national policies acknowledging the linkages and importance of natural resources, protected areas, forests, lakes, etc. to tourism and recreation (as well as the impact of these in such resources).

Even more significantly, Poland have a long tradition of health spas, balnearies, wellness centres and sanatoriums. The use of such sanatoriums and centres and their reliance on natural resources like mineral waters, curative muds, etc., for health purposes is deeply engrained in national culture and supported by the respective national health services. Given such reliance on unpolluted natural resources, many such places are located in prime natural landscapes and settings. It is not hard to conceive that these cultural and historical contexts could provide good opportunities to explore more holistic and nature-based 'wellbeing tourism' development initiatives, beyond the narrower more traditional focus on health or curative tourism, as currently happens. The main difficulty however (as for other post-socialist nations) is the political-legal tradition of heavily centralized power and decision-making, strong policy subject

separation along institutional silos, and weak communication between institutions responsible for policy matters that happen to cross such institutional silos. If the experiences of Finland and the UK teach us anything, is that the development and implementation of new initiatives that rely in cross-policy linkages (like tourism, wellbeing and CES) in the end require devolved local/regionally-based processes of collaboration that transcend central governments' policy categories. Such devolved approaches can better allow a focus and consideration of existing local resources, wills and needs in the piloting of new initiatives, where policies are simply instruments serving local aims, rather than being top-down goals or ends.

Conclusions

The conceptual and policy reviews and analysis in this paper share a common characteristic: all of the issues and social constructs covered are still at emergent stages of definition. The review of the concept of CES highlighted how this is the least developed theoretically and less understood category of ES, with common definitions encompassing subjects as different as cultural diversity, spiritual services, aesthetic values and tourism and recreation, amongst others. This diversity alone makes it a challenging concept (to say the least) to transfer to policy-making – which however hasn't stopped institutions and countries from trying, as seen.

As it was found, the situation does not get any better with the concept of wellbeing – or wellbeing tourism – with proliferation and overlaps of terminologies and understandings between health, wellness, wellbeing and even welfare, depending on the country you are or the sources you use. Linguistic constraints and translational challenges further complicate the picture when such ideas try to be transferred to national policies in countries (and languages) with no direct equivalents for all the terms' nuances. It is then no surprise that our analysis of national policies from our case countries reveals a range of scenarios that – each on its own way – can all be considered to be at different stages of emergent definition.

It is true that our review shows that Finland in particular, followed by the UK, are in a more advanced stage of thinking on how CES and wellbeing can be brought together with tourism in cross-policy synergies. But it would be erroneous to infer from it that any of these countries are at any advanced stage of implementation of such ideas. In both cases (and at different speeds and following different implementation approaches) the situation on the ground is currently still one of experimentation and 'finding out' what those ideas can mean in practice, and their likely chances of success. In a way, such experiences aim more at informing ongoing emergent processes of agenda setting, policy definition and formation, than any straightforward implementation of 'finished' concepts or ideas.

It is also true that our analysis shows that policies in Poland are still far from including any such cross-policy synergies, and have probably not even entered the stages of agenda setting or policy formulation in this regard. The paper highlighted several challenges that are likely to constitute part of the picture of why these ideas have not been taken (yet), but we also highlighted some opportunities that the cultural and historical contexts of these countries can provide for the development of this agenda, if there is the political will to explore such ideas, and available lessons to learn from.

To finalize, we believe our review also shows that, despite all of the challenges above and the early stage of development of the ideas and concepts discussed, these are both academic and policy areas generating a growing interest internationally. Only a few years ago there was hardly any discussion on CES and wellbeing tourism, academically or beyond. Nowadays, this discussion is not only not confined to academic circles, but there are already national governments willing to pilot such ideas. We believe that such interest will only continue to grow in the coming years, and our aim was to contribute to that emergent debate.

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POLITYKA W ZAKRESIE KULTUROWYCH ŚWIADCZEŃ EKOSYSTEMÓW I DOBROSTANU W ODNIESIENIU DO TURYSTYKI – WYZWANIA I SZANSE NA POZIOMIE MIĘDZYNARODOWYM I KRAJOWYM

Streszczenie:

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie wyników badań porównawczych dotyczących polityki w zakresie kulturowych świadczeń ekosystemów (CES), dobrostanu i turystyki w Wielkiej Brytanii, Finlandii i Polsce w latach 2012–2018. Rozpoczynamy od przeglądu podstaw teoretycznych i akademickich koncepcji CES i turystyki prozdrowotnej, następnie przechodzimy do przeglądu aktów legislacyjnych na poziomie międzynarodowym i lokalnym – obowiązującym w krajowym w krajach wybranych do badań. Porównujemy politykę krajów związaną z turystyką, dobrostanem i CES oraz omawiamy koncepcyjne powiązania między nimi. Wyniki wskazują na istotne różnice na poziomie europejskim, począwszy od Finlandii i Wielkiej Brytanii, gdzie przeanalizowane dokumenty wykazują istotne powiązania między trzema badanymi obszarami, po Polskę, gdzie turystyka, dobrostan i CES są traktowane oddzielnie i mają jedynie umiarkowane lub słabe powiązania. Kończymy dyskusją na temat wyzwań związanych z przenoszeniem CES i koncepcji dobrostanu do różnych kulturowo-językowych i polityczno-administracyjnych kontekstów krajowych i ponadnarodowych, ale zwracamy również uwagę na potencjalne możliwości transferu wiedzy i doświadczeń między badanymi krajami.

Słowa kluczowe: tkulturowe świadczenia ekosystemów, dobrostan, turystyka, polityka narodowa

